* 539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gillos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

[648] [829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

• [826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

*539
• [826]

/113 cont./ the feet are of a lighter color than the other parts of the body.

All the people, whites and Tukano, who were grouped together, began their return to Diaojpekodijtára and became separated on the march. To the right marched the Tukano with Yúpuri Baúro as their chief, and to the left were all the whites, who were led by Alemán. Among the Tukano went Yepára Dujuſo, and among the whites went the old lady, who is named Númio Paraméo in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke made them enter Diaojpekowſ again. And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle, and in a gourd /Spanish toturna, Crescentia/ he produced coca already ground and mixed with ash (21),

[276]

21. The ash of the burned dried leaf is an ingredient in the elaboration of coca by the Tukano Indian.

and he also produced tobacco, and also produced a small cigar /Spanish tabaquito/ which is smoked through the nose and which is called Uejisé in Tukano. And in with this /114/ coca there were gūſos and serpents and spiders and all the wild beasts and animals of the world. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to eat some of this coca. And Yúpuri Baúro was very afraid of this coca full of animals. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the Alemanes to eat some of this coca, and they would not eat either, from pure fear of the animals that were in that coca. And then Yepá Huáke ordered all the animals that were in the gourd with coca to eat the coca, and the animals ate it; that is why the animals never die, but instead only change skins and hides. And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you are going to die" (22).

22. Will not be immortal.

/159 cont./

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauaretê in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

826 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, õõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subí; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171]
[304]

34. /The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/265/ 2) Human physiology.

826

*[192]

They have quite precise notions about human anatomy and physiology, both of the external functions and something of the internal ones, and a very rich nomenclature for the different parts of the organism. By way of documentation, these terms run:

ðɾpõ, body (Plural õxpõ-ri)
dõxpo-á (pl. dõxpo-pá), head
poá (pl. poá-ri), hair
dyápo-a (pl. dyápo-pá), front, face
dyápo-a-sero (pl. seri), brow
dyápo-a-tõrõ (pl. tõri), forehead
dõxpo-pe'toro (pl. pe'tori), cranium
kaxpé-a (pl. kaxpé-ri), eye
kaxpé-poa (pl. poari), eyelash
kaxpé-wẽ (pl. wẽri), eyebrows
kaxpé-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), eyelid
waxsu-poro (pl. pori), cheek
waxsú-di-a (pl. waxsú-di-pá), zygoma
ẽ'ké-a (pl. ẽ'ké-pá), nose
ẽ'ké-a-pé (pl. peri), nostril, naris
c'mẽ-pero (pl. peri), ear
tõori-pe (pl. tõosé-peri), orifice
wamâ-ta (pl. wamâ-tari), neck
wamâ-pé (pl. wamâ-peri), throat
u-khá (pl. usé-pá), hyoid body (Adam's apple)
héri-mirõ (pl. héri-misé), larynx
meõrõ (pl. meõsé), pharynx
meõri-da (pl. meõsé-dari), pharynx, esophagus
õx'sé-ro (pl. õx'se-ri), mouth
õx'sé-be'to (pl. be'tori), lip
õx'sé-ka (pl. kari), jaw
õx'sé-ka-poa (pl. poari), chin
õx'sé-be'to-poa (pl. poari), whiskers
õx'sé-ko (pl. inus kori), saliva
kuxti-ro (pl. kuxti-ri), chest
uxpí-ka (pl. uxpí-kari), tooth
uxpí-mõ (p. mõri), gums
duri-khã (pl. duri-khãsé pikari), molar tooth
ye'mẽ-ro (pl. ye'mẽ-ri), tongue
kãtõ ou kãtõ-a (pl. kãtõ-ri), nape

/266/

*192
• 826

axkõ-poro (pl. pori), shoulder
sẽ'éma (pl. sẽ'émãri), back
sẽ'éma-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), vertebral column
patí-pãma (pl. pãmãri), rib
oxpẽ-rõ (pl. oxpẽ-ri), breast (woman)
oxpẽ-kõ (pl. inus. kõri), milk
oxpẽ-yõxkõri (pl. yõxkõri), nipple
oxpẽ-ro-tõ (pl. tõri), scrotum
oxpẽ-ro-tõ dyé (pl. dyé-ri), sperm
súmũ-a (Uaupés sõmõ-a) (pl. súmũ-pá; Uaupés sõmõ-pá), navel
héri-põra (pl. põrãri), heart, liver
héri-mise (inv.), breath
ye'mẽ-turi (só pl.), bronchiae, lungs
nimã-ga (pl. nimã-pá), biliary vesicle, gall bladder
si'sẽrẽ (pl. si' sẽrẽri), trochanter
wa'té-ro (pl. wa'té-ri), groin
nihi-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), uterus
nihi-koro (pl. korori), vagina
yaxpé or yaxpẽ (pl. yaxpẽ-ri), vulva
kõrẽ-tuxturo (pl. tuxturi), clitoris
so'mũri-phĩ (pl. phĩri), labia of the vulva
nũ'rĩ-gõ (pl. nũ'rĩ-paõ), penis
õ'rẽ (inv.), urine
õ'rẽ-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), bladder
sõ'kõã (pl. sõ'kõãri), waist, lumbar region
si-á (pl. si-pá), buttocks
si-á-pé (pl. si-á-peri), anus
kaxsé-ro (pl. kaxsẽ-ri), skin
o'ã (pl. o'ãri), bone
axsí-busu (pl. bususé), heat, fever
axsi-thúase (inv.), sweat
keká-doxká (pl. doxkarí), axilla
wamũ-kã (pl. kãri), arm, hand
wamũ-ka-mipero (pl. mipese), groove opposite the elbow
sa'ã-ga (pl. sa'ã-pá), apophysis of the elbow
wamũ-ka-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), elbow
wamũ-ka-kuxtiro (pl. kuxtiri), palm without the fingers
wamũ-pãma (pl. pãmãri), hand
wamũ-pa (pl. pari), palm with fingers close together
wamũ-ka dõ'po-ka (pl. kari), shoulder blade
wamũ-pika (pl. pikari), finger
wamũ-sero (pl. seri), fingernail
wamũ-ka-doxká (pl. doxkari), forearm

/267/

*192
• 826 ôx'só (pl. ôx'só-ri), thigh
ôx'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
kũ-ñarõ (pl. kũ-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
õ'tá or ã'tá (inv.), feces
õ'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
õ'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192
825 Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

1st. -- Ya'ãrá (Uaupés ña'ãñá) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nãxkã-khãrá (U. khãñá) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kãrá (U. ex'kãñá) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bããrá (U. baãñá) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwíñá) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



843
826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of
[763] its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while
[856] the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahí* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahímikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



593 553 603 789 [604] 553 [114] [614] [574] 553 603 593 [856] [826] [775] 553 614 533 [114] [124] [184] 553 614 533 539

father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paimwe bebiko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupüni*: one who is blown)[2] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahükiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giarone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[2] She is also known as *nomïnyaivi* (becoming a woman).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19



841
The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating [833] woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, [828] if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part [758] the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

826 ●
Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent 841
hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls 821
and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic [828] dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

## SEX LIFE

836
Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sex- 835
ual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosex- [838] ual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to [775] death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the [867] older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. [626]

838
As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUb:



831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd buteí* (literally, hair tobacco).